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MAYBE COMMODORE PERRY SHOULD OF STOOD IN BED

This White House Janus (sometimes known as an Eisenhagerty) must have been doing plenty of double-thinking in the last weeks about the changes in Japan during the hundred years since the Commodore "opened the country to the West," as the saying goes. From where we sat at press-time, it looked pretty closed.

DISARMAMENT AND THE BOMB

Major new Soviet concessions lift hopes at Geneva talks

By Kumar Goshal

WHEN THE TEN-NATION Disarmament Conference (the Big Four plus Canada, Italy, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania) resumed in Geneva on June 7, Washington froze anew in the face of Moscow's initiative.

Five days earlier the Soviet Union had offered revised disarmament proposals intended to meet Western—especially American and French—objections to its previous proposals. In the new plan, Moscow made concessions (1) to Washington's demand for a UN police force and for a detailed outline of the control system, and (2) to Paris' demand for destroying the means of delivering nuclear weapons.

HOPE STILL ALIVE: Most observers saw hope in the fact that, despite the Paris Summit fiasco, the renewed disarmament and nuclear test ban conferences were keeping open the door to a relaxation of tensions. They regarded Moscow's moves to meet Western objections to its previous proposals (see GUARDIAN; March 28) as indications of Soviet sincerity regarding arms reduction. Secy. of State Herter, as a matter of fact, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee May 27:

"I think those who have dealt with [Mr. Khrushchev] directly are convinced that he is genuinely in favor of a disarmament program, that he genuinely wants for the sake of developing the economy of Russia, a reduction both in expense from a monetary point of view and from a human point of view, of the great burden of armaments."

NO ANSWER YET: Yet by June 8, the N.Y. **Times** reported, "the West had not worked out a detailed reply" to Moscow's revised plan. In fact, it said, the Soviet plan had "widened differences of approach among the Western delegations and these will take time to narrow or at least cover over." Meanwhile, all the West could do was to raise ever sillier objections.

The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** said Western delegates planned a "careful cross-examination of Soviet delegate Valerian Zorin in the coming sessions [to] bring out

(Continued on Page 8)

FLOGGING A DEAD ELEPHANT?

Rockefeller's blast at Nixon jolts GOP but changes little

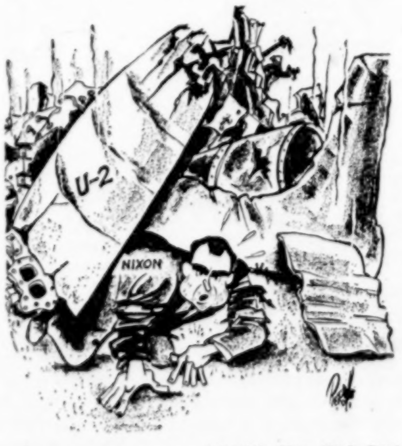
By Russ Nixon
Guardian staff correspondent

WASHINGTON

NELSON ROCKEFELLER'S challenge to Vice President Nixon on June 9 poured trouble on the well-oiled waters of the Republican Party. Two days earlier, voters kicked up their heels in primary elections from New York to California with startling results. With the Democrats having to make a choice in less than four weeks between Senators Kennedy, Johnson and Symington and Adlai Stevenson to head their ticket in 1960, America's politics were jumping in mid-June.

The unexpected Rockefeller blast made him an active, though not formally announced, candidate. Rockefeller spoke out after a private breakfast conference with President Eisenhower and after he had addressed a hastily-convened meeting of the New York State Republican executive committee.

The attack obviously was carefully calculated and its policy proposals summarized the content of the series of special detailed Rockefeller Reports which the Governor initiated in June, 1958. The fact that Rockefeller represents a section of big business having great influence in the Republican Party emphasized the significance of this bombshell which exploded plans for a calm and unified convention to rubber-stamp the nomination of Nixon in Chicago July 28. But the content of his remarks gave no comfort to those who seek an easing of international tension.



Pierotti, New York Post

"Now as I wasn't saying—"

NIXON'S EMBLEM: Rockefeller called on Nixon to say where he stands on vital questions of public policy. In his 2,700-word statement he said: "I find it unreasonable—in these times—that the leading Republican candidate for the Presidential nomination has firmly insisted upon making known his program and his policies not before, but only after, nomination by his party."

In his press conference last March 30, Eisenhower in effect gave Nixon a free hand to spell out his own program, but the Vice President has said he would put forth specific new proposals for the future only after he was nominated. Rockefeller sought to smoke him out before the Republican convention; he said the GOP could not go ahead "to meet the future with a banner aloft whose only emblem is a question mark."

Rockefeller was critical of the Eisenhower administration in many respects. His main policy proposals were:

- Step up effectiveness of the cold war "with firmer knowledge of the dynamic nature and aggressive purpose of Communist imperialism.
- Increase military spending $3,000,000,000 immediately for more and better long range missiles, strategic bombers, Polaris submarines, and forces for limited war to meet "contingencies of local aggression."
- $500,000,000 program for civil defense.
- Better coordinated government structure to avoid errors such as the U-2 incident.

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HOUSE UN-AMERICANS CAUGHT IN THE JAM-POT

No witches in Persian Room, but it went on the bill

THE HOUSE Committee on Un-American Activities, which spent June 6-8 in Washington checking the loyalties of merchant seamen, itself seems loyal to one American principle—the right to free-load. Vouchers from the House Disbursing Office for fiscal 1956-1959 show that committee members lived it up at posh hotel suites and in night clubs at taxpayers' expense during supposed business trips. With $327,000 a year to spend, the fourth largest investigative fund in the House, the witch hunters have been flying high, but on the ground they used chauffeur-driven Cadillacs at $25 a day.

The committee's easy living was revealed in a series on Congressional expense accounts by Don Oberdorfer and Walter Pincus in the Knight newspapers. The reporters also found that the committee had used the same witness ten times for the same testimony, and that the witness, Irving Fishman, deputy collector of customs at the Port of New York, had turned over "thousands of names" of persons receiving mail from socialist countries.

ONLY THE BEST: The freest spender on the committee was Rep. Morgan Moulder (D-Mo.). In February, 1957, during a three-day stay at New York's Plaza Hotel, he charged taxpayers $194.69. Another three-day stay at the Plaza, in May, 1958, cost the public $282.17. One month later, Moulder spent four days at New York's Hampshire House and ran up a bill of $256.66.

During five days at the Statler-Hilton hotel in Los Angeles, in February, 1959, Moulder's bill came to $523.84. Of this, he paid only the $6.05 valet and laundry charge.

Moulder also charged to the public: (1) a $90.38 bill for an evening at the Persian Room night club in New York; (2) $179 in restaurant charges for one day in Los Angeles; and (3) $47.08 for three meals in St. Louis.

Other committee members, Edwin Willis (D-LA.) and Gordon Scherer (R-Ohio), also did not scrimp during their jaunts.

Committee chairman Francis E. Wal-

(Continued on Page 4)

THE MAIL BAG

The magnificent rebel

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Seldom have I had so much pleasure and enjoyment from any article as the one written by that Grand Old Man, W. E. B. Du Bois. Age has truly sharpened his wit and the GUARDIAN is to be complimented for printing his "Program of Reason." I well remember the great job he did in his articles and organization work in the NAACP.

What a magnificent rebel Dr. Du Bois is. The late Clarence Darrow would, I'm sure, be happy to read of his travels and writing activities in these later years of his life. W. E. B. Du Bois puts to shame those of us too lazy or too tired to carry on.

What a glorious feeling, to flout old age and stay in there pitching for a decent and reasonable world for all alike.

Paul Dennie

But one solution . . .

PROVO, UTAH

To President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Herter:

"What has become of international morality? Where is the conscience of the world? Besides the plane incident, we call your attention to the mass uprising and slaughter of youth in Korea and the uprising in Turkey. These and other troubles elsewhere, we submit, are the effects of well-known causes. The principal cause, plainly, is the struggle between capitalism and socialism. We respectfully submit for your candid consideration that the armaments race and the cold war are not the cure for this country. There is but one solution—peace . . ."

Public Affairs Forum
of Utah County
P. O. Box 576

Bully boys

NEW YORK, N.Y.

No amount of venomous editorials attacking the Soviet Union can hide the fact that we committed the initial "bully" escapade to find the vulnerable targets for a "surprise" attack as urged recently by our own General Powers as "a preventive or pre-emptive war."

Miriam Stern

Irresponsible conduct

OAKLAND, CALIF.

To President Eisenhower:

"We certainly expected a great deal more from you than you have delivered. You apparently think that it is all right to risk the lives of your own children and grandchildren by such irresponsible conduct, but we are telling you it is not all right to risk the lives of our children and grandchildren and the children of the rest of America. We protest bitterly against such irresponsible and provocative conduct on the part of your administration and insist that henceforth everything possible be done to rectify the horrible mess you have got us into."

Russell L. Linton
Hazel M. Linton

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

What would happen to millions of dollars of money, securities and mail being carried by armored cars during an enemy attack?

This was the question which some 35 representatives from the city's banks, insurance companies and armored car services were asked to consider at the Hartford Club Wednesday afternoon.

In New York, member banks of the Federal Reserve have been told where their money will be delivered after an enemy attack if it cannot be delivered to the original destination, a representative of the National Armored Car Assn. told the meeting.

Merrit Kennedy, chairman of the Disaster Preparedness Committee, said that in a post-attack period armored cars would have the same priority as telephone and fuel.

—Hartford (Conn.) **Times, June 2**

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: R. F., Dover, Mass.

Abuse of freedom?

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I was horrified to read that James Aronson calls our great wise beloved leader "a West Point automaton with a big grin." Freedom of the press is O.K., but it shouldn't be abused by telling the truth. **F. M. N.**

Lost seeing-eye

KETCHUM, OKLA.

Hope Ike can climb out of that hole he dug and fell into. He didn't have Dulles to guide him. John Foster was astute enough to boycott the Dragon, and give the Kremlin a wide berth. He sniped a few shots at long range. John was smarter than Mark Hanna, the Ohio gang, and Joe Cannon. He tried for a Senate seat once, was trimmed by Lehman, figured the appointive the surest route and proved correct. He ruled the U.S. for seven years. John was Ike's seeing eye.

B. F. Liggett

Paltry excuses

BAKERSFIELD, CALIF.

We have read the paltry excuses that were made by Eisenhower to the charges that were presented to the Security Council. We agree with everything that was said by the Soviet delegate Gromyko and the Polish Ambassador.

As we understand it, the Security Council was not assembled for the purpose of re-hashing the activities of spies in the past, but for the purpose of making a report on the U-2 incident.

We take the position that instead of Khrushchev having "exploded" or "torpedoed" the Summit conference, it was done by Eisenhower by his refusal to accede to the request by Khrushchev to offer an apology and to punish all who were responsible for the "mistake."

D. G. Bayne

One-way Ike

NEW YORK, N.Y.

We are saying in effect: We distrust them and therefore have the right to suspect them, ring them with bases and do as we please, but they have no right to make the most of our blunders and demand apology.

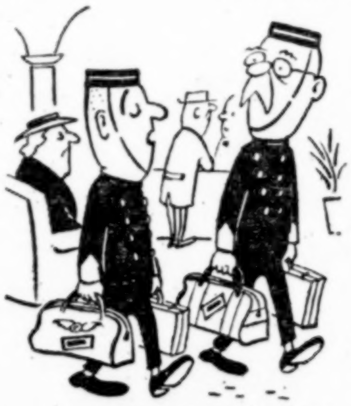
E. G.

Gosh d- - - ?

OROVILLE, WASH.

I am so well informed since I started reading your paper, but there is a drawback—the articles leave me d - - - mad!

Joyce Cabibi



London Daily Mirror

"What's the chances of promotion 'ere?"

Capital punishment

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Three times American judicial barbarism has left in its wake imperishable epistolary legacies to sear the heart and disturb the conscience of every citizen who abhors capital punishment. The letters of Vanzetti, the Rosenbergs and now two letters in Caryl Chessman's final hours.

If we have the will to do so we can make Chessman's death a meaningful landmark of American judicial history by tirelessly working in our respective states for abolition of capital punishment everywhere in our country.

Muriel I. Symington

●

BRONX, N.Y.

I started and tore to pieces many letters on capital punishment and Caryl Chessman. There is so much to say and too few words in which to say them. I can only say this:

A wrong number — seconds,
that is all;
A wrong number—time
enough to let a pellet fall;
A wrong number takes so
little time,
A wrong number allows a
State a legal crime.
A wrong number and ah, the
phoney righteous dance
with glee.

A wrong number—Caryl
Chessman's dead,
And if you look you'll notice
so are we.

Emorezh Yevelle

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

DEAR MR. ACHESON: We have heard a lot of speeches lately—yours and the President's. War isn't imminent, you both keep telling us, but we must be "prepared"—for the situation is grave, the menace of "Soviet aggression" still is acute.

If our country is menaced, we're just as worried as you are. So we've read all the speeches carefully, looking for evidence of this menace you and Mr. Truman speak about.

For the life of us we can't find any. But we can't believe responsible people like you and Mr. Truman would speak this way without evidence. So that's why we're asking you now if you won't tell us whether—and when—the Soviets since the war have:

(1) Established military bases at our borders;

(2) Borne down on Canada, Mexico or Peru and transformed them into People's Republics;

(3) Incited by radio, thanks to their powerful "Voice of the Soviet Union," Hawaii, Alaska and Puerto Rico to free themselves from the capitalist yoke;

(4) Organized reconnaissance trips with Privateers flying over our American sky;

(5) Advocated, in speeches delivered by members of the Supreme Soviet, or intellectuals, or scientists, the dropping of a Soviet atomic bomb on the U.S.A.

We did some research work in the papers and didn't find anything like this anywhere. There must be something rotten in the news services. Won't you help us out, so we can get our facts, dates and menaces straight?

Respectfully,
THE EDITORS OF THE GUARDIAN.
—From the National Guardian, June 21, 1950

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REPORT TO READERS

Ten years of anguish

TEN YEARS AGO THIS MONTH the police agency of our Federal government began assembling the ugly framework of the Rosenberg-Sobell "atom-spy conspiracy"; and seven years ago this month —just before sundown on Friday, June 19, 1953—our government claimed the lives of the young parents Ethel and Julius Rosenberg after recalling a recessed Supreme Court to countermand a stay of execution which would have enabled a review of their trial.

Morton Sobell, the young scientist and classmate of Julius Rosenberg's who was tried with them and convicted of a separate alleged conspiracy, has been repeatedly denied a Supreme Court review. He has served more than eight years of a 30-year sentence (the first six in Alcatraz) and has actually been in prison almost ten years because of prohibitive bail from the time of his arrest in August, 1950.

GUARDIAN READERS IN 1951 INITIATED the outcry against the injustices of the Rosenberg-Sobell trial and launched the clemency appeal which gained worldwide proportions matched in history only by the appeals for Sacco and Vanzetti in the 20's and nurse Edith Cavell in World War I. For them the intervening years have not allayed the anguish of the executions nor dulled the sense of shame for the mockery of U.S. justice thus exposed to the world.

Yet, recalling the blood-lust whipped up by the sentencing judge charging the Rosenbergs with responsibility for Soviet development of the A-bomb, and thus for the Korean War, it is deeply significant that no one of consequence now ventures to make such allegations.

Ambassador Lodge in his counterclaims of Soviet espionage presented in the UN debate over the U-2 incident, made no mention of the Rosenbergs, nor of Klaus Fuchs, the Los Alamos scientist allegedly supplying supposed secrets to them. Indeed when Fuchs was freed in England a year ago after years of imprisonment on charges never made public, the thorough-going New York **Times** made no mention of his supposed connection with the Rosenbergs.

All that remains, apparently, of the "conspiracy" which J. Edgar Hoover termed "the crime of the century" is the anguish of the families and those who fought to save the Rosenbergs' lives, and the increasing weight of the continuing Sobell injustice on the conscience of the nation.

THE MAN IN THE IRON MASK of American jurisprudence, is the way Prof. Francis Wormuth of the University of Utah law school has characterized the still-imprisoned Sobell; and Rep. Randall S. Harmon (D-Ind.) has put the matter this way:

"Perhaps one reason why Morton Sobell has been imprisoned this long and why they won't give him another day in court is because it might be discovered that these other people were also innocent."

SOME OF THE MOST EMINENT PEOPLE in our country, following the lead of Nobel Laureate Harold Urey and the late Elmer Davis, have urged upon the President consideration of such points as the following, in asking freedom or a new trial for Sobell:

- Sobell was not accused of atomic espionage, nor of conspiring with the Rosenbergs. His indictment charged no overt acts. The testimony against him was that of a tainted witness, Max Elitcher, who was himself in jeopardy for denying Communist affiliations in seeking a government job. Elitcher testified only that Sobell had solicited (but not received) information and, on one occasion, had taken something that looked like a can of film to Julius Rosenberg.
- Judge Jerome Frank of the U.S. Court of Appeals said Sobell should have a new trial because his trial should have been separated from the Rosenbergs. The Court agreed that Sobell should have had a new trial had his defense objected in time to "wholly reprehensible" conduct of the prosecution (which included the notorious Roy Cohn.)
- A fair trial was impossible in the inflamed atmosphere; and Sobell's attorneys could not learn what Sobell was accused of doing, so as to prepare a defense. Proved perjuries of government witnesses were used to convict him.

Our space has run out, but not our concern. Please add your letter now to those beseeching the President for freedom or a new trial for Sobell.

—THE GUARDIAN

NEW YORK READERS: A memorial service will be held at 1 p.m. Sunday, June 19, at the Rosenberg grave with a get-together at 1:30 at Heckscher State Park, L.I. From Manhattan, Northern State Parkway to Exit 40; from Brooklyn, Southern State Parkway to Exit 35. Follow signs to Wellwood Cemetery.

THE COST TO DUES-PAYERS: $2,000 A DAY

Even Congressmen revolt at Teamsters' monitor system

By Robert E. Light

BY THE END of the year the board of monitors appointed by a Federal court to "clean up" the Intl. Brotherhood of Teamsters will have cost the union's dues-payers $2,377,161 40. Most of the money will have gone for legal and court costs and for enormous fees and high living for the monitors. For their investment teamsters have gotten a guardian more determined to "get Hoffa," perpetuate itself in office and block a union convention than to protect rank-and-file members.

If the Teamsters needed cleaning, the monitors have been a defective broom. Their disregard for the rank and file's money and rights far exceeds the alleged dishonesty of some union officers. There are ample laws to prosecute crooked union officials, but the monitors' shenanigans have the sanction of the appointing court. To many, continuance of the monitorship is a dangerous precedent for all unions and a denial of union members' right to choose their officers.

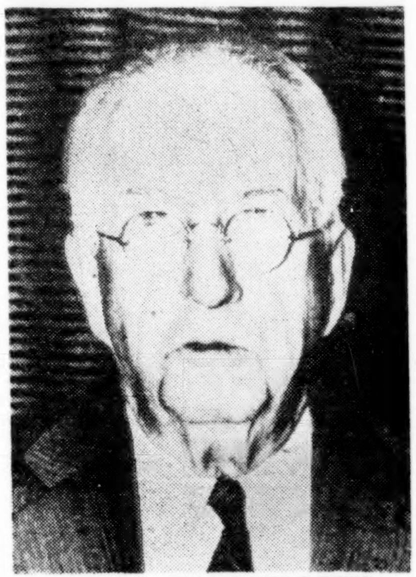
The monitorship was established shortly after the Teamster convention in 1957 which elected James R. Hoffa as president. A group of 13 rank-and-file dissidents brought suit to block Hoffa from taking office on the charge that the election was "rigged." They also complained of misdoings in some Teamster locals. The plaintiffs asked for a new convention.

THE MONITORS' JOB: In a deal agreed upon by all, Federal Judge F. Dickinson Letts established a board of three monitors to serve until a new convention and election of officers. The monitors were charged with (1) protecting the rights of individual members; (2) drafting a model code of local union by-laws; (3) ending trusteeships; (4) reviewing financial procedures; and (5) reviewing grievances of union members.

In their work the monitors were ordered to "counsel with" the union's general executive board. The order also said that "a new convention and election of officers shall be held at any time after the expiration of one year from the date of this order [Jan. 31, 1958] when the general executive board by majority vote shall resolve to call such convention and hold such election." The monitorship was to end with the convention.

Letts appointed as monitors Judge Nathan Cayton as chairman, Godfrey P. Schmidt, counsel for the dissidents, and attorney L. N. D. Wells Jr., representing the union.

A GOOD START: For six months the monitors seemed to function well. Cayton filed a report commending the union's "enlightened cooperation." The report also said (1) many members' complaints "have been brought to a satisfactory conclusion"; (2) "we are generally impressed with the careful and business-like manner in which these [accounting and financial] functions are performed in the International office" and (3) "the present union administration has embarked on a program of restoration of trusteed locals to local autonomy."



JUDGE F. DICKINSON LETTS
He set up the gravy train

Shortly after filing the report Cayton and Wells resigned. Letts named Martin O'Donoghue, attorney for George Meany's Plumbers Union, as chairman, and Teamster attorney Daniel B. Maher to replace Wells.

SCHMIDT'S ROLE: In March, 1959, the Teamster executive board called for a new convention. But monitor Schmidt petitioned Letts to postpone the election. Letts issued a "modification order" postponing an election until recommended by the monitors. He also granted the monitors authority to investigate the international union and its locals and to discipline officers to the point of expulsion.

The union appealed to a higher court which sustained the right to prohibit an election but left it to the discretion of Letts rather than to the monitors. The court also found Schmidt guilty of conflict of interest because while serving as a monitor he also represented employers in collective bargaining with the Teamsters.

With his resignation Schmidt presented the union with a bill for $210,000 for legal fees and $17,000 for expenses in handling the original suit. He had already collected $350,000 from the union in addition to his monitor's salary of $45,000 a year plus expenses. The union refused to pay and the matter is in the courts.

As his successor as monitor Schmidt named Lawrence T. Smith, a member of his own law firm who had worked on the original suit.

CHANGE FOR THE WORSE: With the reconstitution of the monitor board the atmosphere changed. O'Donoghue argued that work could not proceed until Hoffa and other officers were removed. O'Donoghue and Maher battled on almost every issue but Smith always swung the deciding vote to O'Donoghue. Most monitor actions were challenged by the union but Letts ruled for the monitors in every case. Most of Letts' decisions were appealed by the union to a higher court.

Maher complained that the monitors were not doing their job. He said they met only two or three hours a week and that 180 complaints from members had gone unprocessed. He also said that no action had been taken to draft model by-laws or clear the way for a new convention.

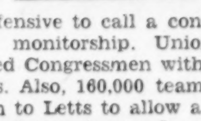
O'Donoghue answered that "every time we try to do something, the union takes court action." Meanwhile he put on the union payroll a staff of five lawyers in addition to an outside law firm, six secretaries and one analyst. In March he added a $20,000-a-year assistant for himself and an investigator who had worked for the Senate rackets committee. The staff costs the union about $12,000 a month.

NEW SPLIT: A split developed in March between O'Donoghue and Smith which stymied the board. Of the 13 Teamsters who had filed the original suit, one withdrew and a majority of those remaining felt that the monitors and Schmidt, who had remained as their lawyer of record, were placing too much emphasis on getting rid of Hoffa instead of rectifying local complaints. They sought to replace Schmidt as their attorney but an appeals court ruled against them. On the monitor board Smith began to echo the teamsters' complaints. He accused O'Donoghue of trying to "get Hoffa."

On March 31, Letts fired Smith as a monitor. At Schmidt's suggestion he named as replacement Terence McShane who, as an FBI agent, had investigated Hoffa for the bureau and had testified against him in a wiretap case. Meanwhile Maher resigned and the union named William E. Bufalino, leader of a Teamster local. Letts refused to accept Maher's resignation.

An appeals court on June 2 reinstated Smith on the ground that no charges had been brought and he was given no opportunity to defend himself. Letts also agreed to seat Bufalino.

NEW OFFENSIVE: While the monitor mishmash was going on, the union opened an offensive to call a convention and end the monitorship. Union members bombarded Congressmen with letters and telegrams. Also, 160,000 teamsters signed a petition to Letts to allow a convention. But Letts has not moved on it, thereby blocking an appeal.



Teamster lobbying paid off in April when 11 Congressmen called for an end to the monitors. Rep. John Dent (D-Pa.) accused the monitors of trying to destroy the union. He said they were costing the union treasury $2,000 a day. Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.) said "serious consideration" should be given to impeaching Letts.

Rep. Abraham J. Multer (D-N.Y.) said the monitorship was "entirely unheard of in law." He added: "The only reason that the court could have approved that kind of arrangement is because there was some awfully nice patronage involved, to the extent of over $700,000 a year."

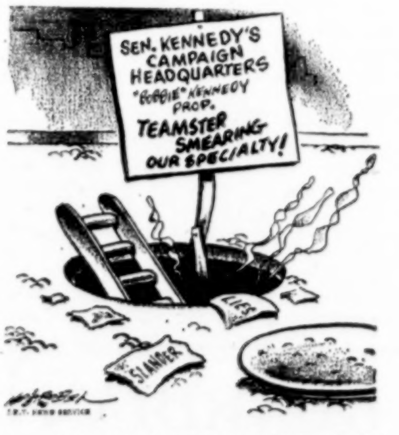
Rep. Elmer J. Holland (D-Pa.) said: "Instead of destroying rackets by the Landrum-Griffin bill we are permitting the existence of a legalized racket under the supervision of a Federal judge."

BILL INTRODUCED: In the Senate, Republicans Homer Capehart (Ind.) and Styles Bridges (N.H.) and Democrats Wayne Morse (Ore.) and John Carroll (Colo.) also called for an end to the monitorship.

Six Congressmen introduced a bill to prohibit union monitorships. At Judiciary Committee hearings six Congressmen and officials of the Machinists, Maritime, Textile, Upholsterers, Flight Engineers and Meat Cutters unions testified for the bill. The only labor leader against the bill was AFL-CIO president George Meany.

The union also instituted three court suits: (1) to restrain the monitors from further activity; (2) to order a union convention; and (3) to disqualify O'Donoghue for conflict of interest because he had worked for the Teamsters in the past.

In his own offensive, O'Donoghue brought suit to remove Hoffa from office on the ground that he had misused union funds to his own interest in a Florida real estate deal. The case came before Letts but on a union motion he disqualified himself. The case is expected to come to court in October.


SEN. KENNEDY'S CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS
"BOBBIE" KENNEDY PROP.
TEAMSTER SMEARING OUR SPECIALTY!
LIES
SLANDER

International Teamster, Washington, D.C.

MORAL DISTINCTION: In the jumble of legal complexities and charges and counter-charges, the rights and interests of rank and file teamsters seems to have been lost. William Goffen, instructor in law at CCNY and chairman of the New York Friends (Quakers) Committee on Legislation, looked at the moral issues in the April 9 issue of **The Nation:** "It seems reasonable to draw a distinction, on moral grounds at least, between the acts charged to Hoffa and those of Schmidt's which resulted in the latter's dismissal as a monitor. Whatever profit Hoffa may personally have stood to gain in the Sun Valley [real estate] project, his union would have gained an old people's home —certainly a worthy plan. But Schmidt's activities, while of profit to himself and perhaps to the employers in whose behalf he negotiated with the union, can in no way be construed as having profited the Teamsters, whose membership, as a monitor, he was supposed to protect."

One yellow dog contract the Teamsters seem saddled with is hauling the gravy train for the monitors.

WALTER-McCARRAN LAW CHALLENGED

Hazel Wolf wins deportation stay

A LAST-MINUTE STAY on June 8 by the Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco halted the deportation to England June 12 of Mrs. Hazel Anna Wolf of Seattle. The action assured a test of constitutionality of a provision of the Walter-McCarran law which permits deportation of persons to lands other than those of their birth or previous abode.

If grounds for Mrs. Wolf's deportation are sustained, the government will be enabled to proceed against some 300 others who have been ordered deported but whose lands of birth or previous abode have refused to admit them. Such individuals are now permitted to remain in this country under supervisory parole of the U.S. Attorney General.

Mrs. Wolf, 62 and secretary to attorney John Caughlan, prominent Seattle civil liberties and immigration lawyer, was born in Canada of a U.S. citizen mother and a Scottish father who was born in Gibraltar. She has lived in the U.S. for 40 years, asserting U.S. citizenship through her mother. In 1949 the government moved to deport her for alleged membership in the Communist Party in 1939 and Mrs. Wolf has been fighting deportation ever since.

STIR IN ENGLAND: Two years ago Canada refused to authorize her return. The Immigration Dept. then resorted to an untested provision of the Walter-McCarran Act permitting deportation to any country willing to accept the deportee. England has a policy of admitting persons born elsewhere in the British Empire or Commonwealth, so the government obtained permission to send Mrs. Wolf to England, where she has never been and has no ties.

The attempt to ship Mrs. Wolf to England caused a stir in the British press and in Parliament. Nine Labor MP's urged the British government to "dissuade" the U.S. from deporting her to England for political reasons. Finally David Ormsby-Gore, British Foreign Affairs Minister, asked the U.S. to reconsider its decision because Mrs. Wolf has an arrested case of tuberculosis and "a drastic change in her environment could cause serious repercussions."

The stay was based on the contention, thrown out of a lower court, that the intended deportation involved issues warranting serious consideration. The case will be argued in the fall. Meanwhile Mrs. Wolf stays home in Seattle.

YOU CAN STILL GET ABOARD

Last call for Guardian Cuba tour

JOHN T. McMANUS, GUARDIAN general manager, and his wife, Jane, will be the official GUARDIAN hosts on the big tour to Cuba July 24 to Aug. 6. Mrs. McManus, who speaks Spanish, visited Havana during the regime of dictator Fulgencio Batista and will be able to provide sharp comparisons between the old and new Cuba.

A third host will be GUARDIAN contributor Rodolfo Aybar, veteran newspaperman who returned to Cuba early this year from the U.S. The three will officially represent the GUARDIAN at formal receptions now being planned and will conduct excursions throughout Havana Province and Matanzas.

Many new events are in the works for the GUARDIAN group since the tour was initiated, including an official government reception at the Plaza Civica and the laying of a wreath by the tour party at the monument to Cuba's liberator, Jose Marti. Arrangements are also under way for an all-day visit to an agricultural cooperative on July 26, at which the visitors will be host to Havana province workers and dignitaries in an expression of Cuban-American friendship.

MANY OTHER EVENTS at which the GUARDIAN readers will meet the leaders of new Cuba are being arranged, including an afternoon cocktail party with representatives of Cuban youth, trade unions, the July 26th movement and government officials. A televised news conference is being scheduled toward the end of the visit, as well as a final banquet at the Rosita de Hornedos hotel, where the group will be quartered during its ten-day stay in Havana. High government leaders have been invited to speak at the banquet.

Two additional optional trips, which are not included in the overall price of the tour, have been arranged. One will be an afternoon visit by air-conditioned bus or limousine to the outstanding Havana East workers housing project, one of the largest and finest in Cuba, and to several of the remarkable new public beaches where workers can have vacation cabins for as little as $2 a day. A second optional tour will be a visit to one of the finest Havana night clubs for dinner and a floor show. The charge for the first excursion is expected to be $5, and $10 for the evening at the night club.

OTHER FEATURES of the GUARDIAN tour are free baby-sitters at the Rosita and the Oasis hotel at Varadero Beach; an optional three-day visit to Santiago de Cuba, birthplace of the revolution at the eastern tip of the island; and two local tours, one of Havana proper and a second of the surrounding countryside. Other arrangements can be made on the spot: Teachers, for example, may want to visit schools and nurseries, and receive a preview of the remarkable new children's city, Camp Columbia, formerly a Batista army post, while others might prefer to visit hospitals, factories or other new projects.

Carnival time in a Havana nursery. Kids open new toys and other gifts from the government. Those going on the GUARDIAN tour can arrange to visit one of Cuba's new children's centers.

As the GUARDIAN goes to press 60 reservations have been received for the tour, and another dozen or so are expected before the July 5 deadline. Including the three hosts and the winner of the GUARDIAN subscription contest, the total number will be around 75, considered to be the largest friendly U.S. delegation ever to visit the newly independent country. More than a dozen states are represented in the group.

MOST OF THE visitors will leave from Idlewild Airport on Cubana's big Bristol Britannia, seating 96 passengers, Sunday, July 24, at 3:30 p.m. The others, principally those from the West, will leave on flights from Miami and join the rest of the delegation at the Rosita de Hornedos. All will spend ten days in the Havana area before leaving for three days at Varadero Beach Wednesday morning, Aug. 3.

They will return to Havana for the final banquet Friday evening, Aug. 5, and to New York or Miami the following day. A number of the tourists have arranged either to stay several additional days in Cuba, or to continue to other Caribbean Islands. Such arrangements must be made before the July 5 deadline through the GUARDIAN office.

So, last call for the biggest, friendliest delegation of Americans to visit New Cuba! The $350 package price includes everything—air-conditioned suites at two luxurious hotels, breakfast and dinner daily (tourists must buy their own lunches, wherever they happen to be), all transportation from points of departure, baggage transfer, tips and arrangements and non-optional excursions.

The time is right—the period of island-wide celebrations of the July 26th movement, and the price is right—just $350 for 13 wonderful days! The deadline for reservations is July 5. If you want to be included write now to Guardian Tour, 197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N.Y., enclosing a $50 deposit for each member of the group.

See you in Havana!

House Un-Americans

(Continued from Page 1)

ter (D-Pa.), who approved the expenditures, explained that in out-of-town trips a hotel suite was necessary as "an office or place to interrogate witnesses or a place where people with information can come." He added: "You can't do that in a single bedroom."

FEEDING THE FANS: Moulder said that his heavy restaurant bills always included guests—"friendly people, you might call them fans of the commitee." He did not say which fan accompanied him to the Persian Room.

Disbursements records showed that in four days in New York in March, 1957, the committee charged up $111.25 for rented Cadillacs. In three days in New York, one month later, the committee spent $78 for limousines. In San Francisco, in December, 1956, the committee spent $80 for rented cars.

Walter said limousines "proved to be more convenient than taxis." Scherer said he thought the Cadillacs "perhaps were much cheaper than cabs."

In January, 1958, the committee paid the Army Pictorial Service $2,162.78 for newsreel film of its sessions. Its purpose, Walter said, "is to preserve the work that was done by the committee." In answer to where and when the film would be shown, Walter said that it was not yet finished. After it is completed, he said, "I want to see what it is and then detemine its use."

HEAVY READING: The committee also spent $161.35 in six months—October, 1957 through March, 1958—to replace Library of Congress books and magazines that were borrowed and "lost" by committee members or staff. Books included were: "Two Little Confederates—the story of Frank and Willy in Old Virginia," a children's book written by Thomas Nelson Page in 1889; "Living Latin for Junior High School—Book I"; "Junior Mathematics for Today—Vol. II"; "Business Statistics"; and "The Sex Education of Children."

Committee staff director Richard Arens commented on the expenditures: "Maybe somebody had a loose practice or two, or has taken a hotel more expensive than normal, I don't know. I have not." Arens had his own deal, the York **Gazette and Daily** disclosed. He got $3,000 a year as an advisor to millionaire Wycliffe Draper, who endows projects to prove that Negroes are "genetically inferior" to whites.

In scanning the committee's expense account, the reporters found that customs official Fishman was paid $9-$12 a day plus travel expenses for ten separate appearances. Further digging revealed that the committee and Fishman had worked out a vaudeville act.

IN THE BAG: On his job Fishman is charged with intercepting mail from abroad which is thought to contain pornography or foreign political propaganda. In his act with the committee Fishman appeared as the day's first witness. With him were sealed mail sacks. After he testified about the "flood of propaganda" from socialist countries, Fishman was asked to break the seal on a mail sack. "You are sure you don't know what's in the sack?" a committee member always asked. Fishman answered that he did not. As the committee members leaned forward expectantly, Fishman fished into the sack. The committee gasped as he pulled out a copy of a Soviet or Chinese picture magazine printed in English.

This act was repeated with little variation ten times, but each time the Congressmen behaved as if they had never seen it before. Each time, too, newspapers obligingly treated Fishman's testimony as fresh news of the "Red menace."

At the March, 1957, hearing, Moulder, who had already seen Fishman perform twice before, ad libbed that Fishman's testimony "will be of great importance and assistance to this committee in recommending remedial legislation for Congress to act upon."

Walter said that Fishman's testimony was "very valuable" because "he builds up for us appreciation of the magnitude of the problem." Of "value" to the commitee, too, are the "thousands of names" Fishman turned in.

WHAT'S THAT SMELL? The Washington **Post** commented editorially: "There is only one thing wrong with this minstrel show. It stinks . . . It is more than time now to ring down a final curtain on this fraud—on its padded expense accounts, its phony posturings and its contempt for the elementary rights of American citizens."

At the committee's latest waste of public funds, it called a dozen seamen who had been screened off ships in 1950 but were reinstated recently after a long court fight. The hearings were based ostensibly on Walter's new bill (HR 11580) to bar from merchant ships and from Federal employment generally, persons who refuse to cooperate with Congressional committees.

Forty-eight former seamen were subpenaed originally, but many who had not been near the docks in ten years were excused later. Most of those heard were members of the Seamen's Defense Committee which waged the court fight against screenings.

Vice Admiral James A. Hirschfield, assistant commandant of the Coast Guard, testified that "merchant seamen may be used easily as links in a world-wide communist communication system and a world-wide espionage network." Shea Gordon Trosten and Loron Whitney Wardell, who described themselves as former CP members turned FBI informers, echoed the theme.

The rest of the witnesses refused to cooperate with the committee, relying on the First and Fifth Amendments.

UN-INVADED: Throughout the hearings, the committee seemed most concerned about another youth demonstration. On the eve of the hearings, Youth Against the Un-American Activities Committee held a meeting at which Pete Goodman, SDC secy., spoke. Several times Arens referred to busloads of "communist youth" that were to arrive to picket the hearings. Committee members turned apprehensively each time the door opened.

The only youth invasion came from a group of school children touring Washington with their teachers to see how the government works. When one of the witnesses began to upbraid the committee, the teachers hustled out the children.

When Stanley Hauser, a former radio operator, told the committee, "you're fighting for the power to get our jobs," two young men in the audience applauded. They were thrown out.

One of the final witnesses was Capt. Hugh N. Mulzac, SDC chairman and the first Negro to command a U.S. merchant ship. He refused to cooperate.

Others on subpena were dismissed, to be called after the committee hears from industry and union officials at an indefinite date.

In San Francisco, one student remains to be tried for allegedly striking a policeman in the riot during the committee's hearings May 13. Funds for his defense and for medical care for injured students are being collected by Prof. Edward W. Barankin, honorary treasurer, Students for Civil Liberties, 20 Highland Blvd., Berkeley, Calif.

GUARDIAN
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of the July 26 Movement
July 24-Aug. 6

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- **13 Days with a Host of Guardian friends!**

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For reservation send $50 deposit
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197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N.Y.

PHILADELPHIANS! Did you know that extra copies of the GUARDIAN can be bought at Frank Elster's on the northwest corner of 13th & Market?

W. E. B. DU BOIS AT THE BURNHAM MEMORIAL

On the vast and reckless waste of human life

By W. E. B. Du Bois

At a time when Dr. Du Bois' life and work are being celebrated, his advice to younger people, as given in an address (printed below) at the memorial meeting for the late Louis E. Burnham of the GUARDIAN staff, is especially appropriate. Contributions to the Louis E. Burnham Fund, which has been established for his family, may be sent to the Fund at 197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N.Y.

I KNEW LOUIS BURNHAM for about 25 years. There are many matters of which I might speak concerning him; of the work he did; of the work he was doing at the time of his death; and of what he might yet have done had he lived. I might refer, as all of you must, to the future of his family and the education of his children. And above all none can forget his honesty and utter sacrifice.

I speak, however, only of one matter which seems to me of greatest moment to this audience. What I want to say has to do with the saving of lives like that of Louis Burnham; the stopping of the vast and reckless waste which goes on each year in this country and others, and deprives the world of irreplaceable help for the tasks which we have to do.

Here was a man of 44 at the beginning of what we regard as the prime of life. His education and apprenticeship had ended and his full life begun. Suddenly he is dead. Why? Let us take refuge in no mystical fatalism. He is dead because in his busy life he did not find sufficient time to attend to the needs of his body. He had a good body, not weak nor deformed, comely and normal. He had work to do, work of great moment but some of that work was neglected. The neglected work had to do with the preservation of the working mechanism which was his body.

THIS OFTEN is the fault of the individual. Some men abuse their bodies; others neglect them. But Louis Burnham was not that sort. If he neglected his health or overworked, it was unconscious and because of his own absorption in what he saw as his duty, and because his friends neglected to warn him, and the state of which he was citizen furnished no adequate code of health.

Happy the child that starts with a healthy rhythm of life. But when once he's grown, the responsibility for preserving health falls on himself, his friends and the state. These three. But today increasingly the greatest responsibility is that of the state. We easily forget this. We blame a busy man for not resting, but how can he rest when his work is not done, when his family may be in danger of starvation and when his friends do not sense this or warn him, and the state does not furnish him facilities for good health?

We fall into the habit of going to a physician when we're sick, which is putting the cart before the horse. We should go to the physician before we are sick so as not to become sick. Our friends should feel it their duty to warn us when we are driving too hard and in the wrong direction. But above all the modern state should see to it that its workers rest, that they have recreation, that their work is done under healthy conditions and that there is an abundance of trained physicians and nurses, ten times as many hospitals as we have, and services and medicines within easy reach of all.

Two years ago I was in London and was taken violently ill. I was treated for a week or ten days by an excellent physician and when I was well and asked for my bill I was told that there was no bill, that the British government paid for the physician's services and the cost of my medicines was less than $5. This was British social medicine which the American Medical Association has spent millions of dollars to prove is a failure.

ABOUT FIFTY YEARS ago a group of physicians in the State of New York organized the Life Extension Institute whose duty it would be for a small annual fee to advise clients just what the state of their health was and what they ought to do about it. I joined the organization in 1918, but gradually the organized physicians of the State of New York so limited the work and functions of the Life Extension Institute as to curtail most of its usefulness. They told me at last frankly: "Unless you have some specific ailment we really have no right nor facilities to advise you." And I had to reply: "It is just because I have no particular disease nor complaint that I want the services of an organization like this."

LOUIS E. BURNHAM
"None can forget his utter sacrifice . . ."

The provisions for vacation, treatment, operations and hospitalization in the socialist and communist lands of the world go beyond that of social medicine in Britain. It is here in America, one of the wealthiest nations in the world, that health is grievously neglected, that there are far too few nurses and physicians and that the loss of life because of neglect and poverty is far greater than is necessary.

Most people give little thought to the health of their bodies. They are sure that the body's health is natural and they go on enjoying it. If they are taken ill they go to a physician. But to rush in upon any strange physician with a body already out of order is a crazy thing to do. The physician must learn what is the matter and that is not easy. He must become acquainted with the peculiarities of your particular body and that calls for time.

THE PHYSICIAN to whom you go should be your physician who already knows the condition of your body and the character of your work; and his business is not simply to see that you recover from a temporary illness, but rather to see that you do not get it. Physicians should direct eating by advice, and above all direct drinking. The present use of alcohol is not only unnecessary; it is idiotic. Alcohol is a useful and pleasant beverage, but it is not designed for continuous guzzling. Refraining from drinking liquids is, if anything, more dangerous. And the directing of a continual flow of smoke and gas over sensitive mucuous membranes is neither reasonable nor in the end pleasant. I suppose that more than anything else, one has to ask normal people today to stop trying to turn night into day and day into night in their work and play.

The greatest tribute that we can now pay to the life of Louis Burnham is to look around at our friends who are doing the world's work and pick out, as we easily can, those who are working too hard and trying to do too much and not getting enough rest nor medical advice of the right kind. Then we can take a further step, which is so needed today, and try to build up in the United States health services paid for by the states from our taxes and servants of health trained and paid by the state which will bring social medicine to the United States; not simply to the young, not simply to the old, but especially to the great mass of people who are doing the world's work.

Louis E. Burnham Fund meeting to be held in Philadelphia June 25

THE PHILADELPHIA FRIENDS of the GUARDIAN will hold a lawn party for the Louis E. Burnham Fund on Saturday, June 25, at 8:30 p.m. at the Seidler's lawn, 8020 Cobden Road, Laverock, Pa. (4 blocks off Cheltenham and Willow Grove Ave.). There will be entertainment and a discussion period. Information and travel directions may be obtained from the Philadelphia Friends of the GUARDIAN, 403 E. Sharpnack St., Philadelphia 44, Pa.

We should vote for administrators and legislators who see this as their duty and against those who for any reason neglect this duty. We should try to bring to this nation something of the health services which can be found in the Soviet Union, in China and in all socialist and communist states. There is no reason why the average normal human being should not live at least seventy years in happy useful life doing his share of work and being a joy and help for his fellows and not a burden.

For this is a beautiful world. We know its hurt and evil all too well. Yet we must never forget its beauty and possibilities. I have seen the high Alps blazing above Berne; the royal palms swaying in West Africa; the golden rain of Hawaii. I have seen a crowd of 500,000 working people filling the Red Square before the Kremlin, and thousands singing the Marsellaise and dancing in the Place de la Concorde. I have heard the babies laughing in the nurseries of Peking below the Great Wall of China. This beauty can grow and men can see it if we but let them live,

And by contagion of the sun we may
Catch at a spark from that primeval fire,
And learn that we are better than our clay,
And equal to the peaks of our desire.

HE GOT HIS PASSPORT BACK DESPITE CHINA TRIP

Du Bois going to Ghana for Republic's inaugural

DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS, often described as the father of Pan-Africanism, said at a press conference June 8 that passports had been reissued to Mrs. Du Bois (Shirley Graham) and himself. The passports had been picked up six months after the Du Boises had returned from abroad because they had visited China. The reissued passports mean they will be able to go to Ghana for the inaugural celebration of the new African Republic.

Dr. Du Bois said he had interpreted the passport restriction—"Not good for travel in China"—as meaning that it was of no use to him there; so he left it behind. As a guest of the Chinese government he didn't need it.

This time Dr. and Mrs. Du Bois were requested to sign a statement saying they will not travel in countries with which the United States does not have diplomatic relations.

The press conference was held in the Du Bois home in Brooklyn shortly before the June 15 celebration, "A Prophet With Honor," sponsored in New York by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee in tribute to Dr. Du Bois' life and work.

Dr. and Mrs. Du Bois had just returned from Baltimore where at Morgan College on June 6 he was awarded his ninth honorary degree. "The most remarkable advance Negroes have made," he said, "is in education. When I went to Fisk there were only 25 students in the whole school. The other day at Morgan there were 300 in the graduating class."

Some 2,000 persons attended the Morgan exercises which were held outdoors at sunset. Among the recipients of honorary degrees was John Hope Franklin, chairman of the Department of History, Brooklyn College, who is also a Fisk graduate. Dr. Du Bois, wearing the doctoral cap given him at Charles University in Prague in October, 1958, was the last to be called. Faculty, students and guests all rose in tribute. "Just 76 years ago," he told them, "I saw my first graduation exercise."

At the press conference, Dr. Du Bois noted that Charles University was 300 years old when Columbus discovered America. The degree he received there is one not known in this country: Doctor of the Science of History. The University of Berlin, now called Humboldt University, also gave him a degree in 1958 at a ceremony which noted the graduate work he had done there in 1892-93. At that time, although he had been recommended for a doctorate, he lacked the money to stay on in Germany and he returned to Harvard, where he got his doctorate.

The account of Dr. Du Bois' Harvard days, which forms a chapter of his as yet unpublished autobiography, appears in the spring issue of the **Massachusetts Review.** The current **Who's Who in America** omits both the honorary degrees awarded to Dr. Du Bois and his Phi Beta Kappa membership. The English **Who's Who,** however, published by Macmillan, lists all his degrees and awards.

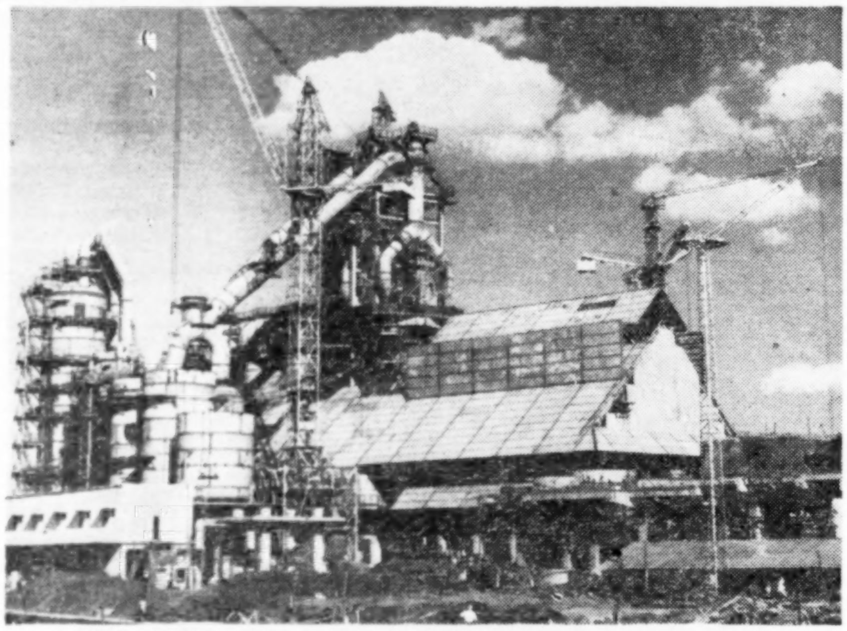
W. E. B. Du BOIS
It was sunset at Morgan

BETWEEN TWO WORLDS

East-West competition in India

By W. G. Burchett
Guardian staff correspondent

NEW DELHI



THIS SOVIET STEEL PLANT AT BHILAI IS NOW A SHOW-PIECE
The credit terms were far lower than Britain's or Germany's

INDIA IS AN ARENA in which to watch the cold war being expressed in new terms—East-West competition as to who is going to render the most effective economic aid. To one like myself, used to seeing the cold war expressed in more explosive forms in Southeast Asia and elsewhere, this is a most pleasing development. To the Indians, whose country has been fairly heavily plundered by the West in the last couple of centuries, it is also very satisfactory.

India is the most fascinating place to watch this new type of struggle. It has a planned economy of sorts with an important sector of publicly-owned industries. Nehru has repeatedly stated and written his advocacy of a socialist solution for India. There is a fast-growing industrialist and commercial class which challenge this view and demand a rigid restriction of the public sector.

Soviet aid obviously goes to strengthen the public sector, to help build up basic industries. American aid tends to go to the private sector or for such public utility projects as approved by the American aid authorities. This pattern is true all along the line, even in agriculture. The Russians have given aid to establish big, mechanized state farms. U.S. aid is designed to transform present feudal landlords into modern capitalist farmers.

EXAMPLE OF STEEL: As India's industrialization gets under way the distinction between private and public sectors becomes more evident. Since much of the financing depends on external aid, the East-West attitudes towards industrialization itself and public or private sectors is a very vital matter.

The question of building up a steel industry is a case in point. India asked the U.S. to build a steel plant but was told she could not make steel economically: better buy it from the U.S. India turned to the U.S.S.R. and then to Britain and West Germany.

The Soviet Union built a steel plant at Bhilai—which is a show-piece for the whole country—on credits at 2.5% repayable in rupees over 12 years. The British built one at Durgapur on credits at about 5.5% repayable in pounds within five years. The West Germans built a steel plant at Rourkela on credits at 6.3% repayable in marks over four years. (This was later extended another three years).

MODERN WORKS, OLD METHODS
An Indian construction worker

The British and West German plants are regarded as dear plants with stiff conditions of repayment, but at least they are plants where Indian steel and steel products are now being turned out. There is no American plant at all. The U.S. had provided India with some $1,500,000,000 of economic aid and grants up to November, 1959. The Soviet Union has given slightly more than a third of that amount.

WHERE IT GOES: Of the $1,500,000,000 of U.S. aid, well over half has been spent on importing U.S. food grains. Another $325,000,000 was in forms of credits under Development Loan Funds, Import-Export Bank, etc., mostly carrying interest rates of over 5% and mainly to finance purchases for private sector industry. These purchases now have to be made in the considerably more expensive American market. The remaining $350,000,000 has been split up into more than 20 items ranging from imports to fertilizers to malaria control and Community Development, and represent no investment in major industrial projects.

All this, of course, is the background to Khrushchev's taunts during his visit to India of "doles" being handed out by the West instead of real economic aid. Western observers comforted themselves that Indians were "horrified" at such remarks but I did not find a single Indian who had anything to do with the country's economy who was horrified.

Indians who have to do with economic planning are disturbed about the trend in Western, especially American, official attitudes in India's industrialization program in general and in particular the development of public sector industries.

THE CONDITIONS: During the Second Five Year Plan, there was a slight retreat from the announced targets which was hailed with some glee in the West. Two members of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development visited India and at the end of July, 1958, produced a report which laid down conditions for future credits. Some are difficult for any independent country to swallow. After critically discussing progress during the second Five Year Plan, the report states that "the government would be well advised to avoid assuming new responsibilities, especially so far as investment in industry and mining is concerned."

The report recommends that "subject to achieving appropriate understandings with the Indian government on its economic and financial policies" and certain other provisos, the Bank would be prepared to "continue its participation in financing India's development program." But "the point has now been reached where the country should concentrate on consolidating the investment already in progress before embarking on large, new undertakings," and the authors comment hopefully that "present indications are that investments [in the Third Five-Year Plan] will have to be on a much less ambitious scale than under the Second Plan."

Indian planners have thought otherwise. I was present in Parliament when Nehru announced that investments in the Third Five-Year Plan would be substantially higher than in the Second with development outlay running at 7 to 4 in favor of the public sector. Steel production is to be more than trebled, despite a series of inspired stories in the English-language press that India had no use for such a "huge" amount of steel, with steel a glut on the world markets.

PROJECTS TO COME: To overcome alleged Congressional objections to U.S. government financing of state-operated concerns, U.S. private investors are now being officially encouraged to invest in Indian private industry. A special slice of the Indian repayment counterfund has been set aside under the Cooley Amendment to remain in India at the disposal of U.S. businessmen for investment. Henry Kaiser drew on this fund recently to finance his participation in expanding the Tata steel plant and for building an aluminum plant for Birla, the other big industrial group in India.

The Soviet Union has already promised a $375,000,000 contribution to the Third Five-Year Plan and quite specific projects have already been mentioned.

In terms of existing heavy industry in India, this amounts to a very sizable contribution. There are no such American projects at all. Credits are on the usual basis of 2.5%, payable in rupees, in 12 annual instalments from the dates the credits are drawn upon. Repayments are taken in goods within the framework of trade agreements. A similar system is used by Rumania, Czechoslovakia and other socialist bloc countries which have given aid.

Both Deputy Minister of Finance, Mrs. Tarakeshwari Sinha, and Mr. Baliram, whom I interviewed about general economic prospects, stressed the big advantages of the Soviet type aid which helps build up the key economic sectors without any drain on India's sorely depleted foreign exchange reserves.

W. GERMAN STAND: An illustration of a different attitude was the statement by F. H. Ulrich, general manager of the West German Deutsche Bank, following a visit to India in February of this year. He had come to decide about West German credits but told the press that if India wanted "to raise a loan on the West German market, you will have to pay a very high rate of interest." He mentioned 8% as "normal" and the "lowest rate of 7% for special cases."

No doubt Ulrich was softening up the ground for a visit by Foreign Minister von Brentano a week or so later. Von Brentano hinted that West German credits could be had on much better terms providing India promised never to recognize the East German government and, as a token, would withdraw its Trade Mission from East Germany. He was told that India would like West German credits—but not at the price of political conditions.

PEACEFUL CHALLENGE: The extent and manner of Soviet aid represents a real challenge to the West—but a peaceful one in which the world in general and the under-developed countries in particular stand to gain. With his recent offers of $625,000,000 worth of aid to India and Indonesia, Khrushchev threw his hat into the ring in a big way. He invites the West to match him and promises to make the pace so hot that it will be impossible to carry out that scale of massive, real economic aid and maintain existing arms burdens.

At the same time he is saying to the under-developed nations: "Back our plan for general disarmament. You see, we cut back our armed forces by one-third and were able immediately to treble our aid to India and Indonesia. The more our arms expenditure is reduced, the more we are going to be able to hand out to you countries."

The West had better not underestimate the eloquence of this argument. The Indians certainly do not.

Lamont, Aronson on WBAI

DR. CORLISS LAMONT, a leading Humanist philosopher, will debate the question of Humanism vs. Christianity with Prof, John C Bennett of Union Theological Seminary Monday, June 20, at 12:45 p.m. over FM station WBAI (99.5 mc.) in New York.

James Aronson, GUARDIAN editor, will speak in the WBAI commentator spot over WBAI on Tuesday, June 28, at 6:45 p.m. (to be repeated on June 29 at 10 a.m.). His topic will be the American press and its responsibility.

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ANTI-SEMITISM IN W. GERMANY TODAY

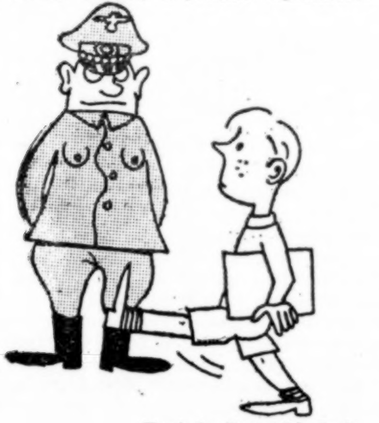
Neo-Nazi groups grow with Bonn's blessings

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

HAMBURG, GERMANY

A RADIO FRANKFURT reporter recently undertook spot recordings at Bergen-Belsen. He had some peculiar experiences. In the little town of Bergen, close to the former concentration camp, one official told him he believed the true figure of Belsen dead was 40% below the official estimate. Other Bergen citizens thought the mass deaths came only after British troops had entered the camp—and fed the hungry prisoners to death. A Social-Democratic member of the city council barred an interview: "If I told the truth, I could not show up in the city council again . . ."

The famous maxim, "Don't do in the Fourth Reich what might harm you in the Fifth," is only a partial explanation for such attitudes. In a recent poll, 48% of those questioned said that Hitler, without a war, would have been one of the great statesmen of all time. To the question: "Do you feel Germany would be better off without Jews today?", 26% said Yes, 24% No and 33% had no opinion.



Kamb in Humanité, Paris

THE NEW GROUPS: Desecration of Jewish cemeteries and other lesser anti-Semitic incidents were occurring long before last winter's Swastika outbreak. Less publicized has been the building up of neo-Fascist and militarist groups by the hundreds since the end of the war.

The DRP (Deutsche Reichs-Partei), headed by a former SS group leader (on Heinrich Himmler's personal staff) on whose doorstep most of last winter's incidents were laid, is the only one with immediate electoral ambitions. The other formations, "study groups and veterans' associations," are quietly working for X-Day. They blanket themselves under such names as "Right and Trust," "Tradition and Life," "Historical Society" or "Universal Ethnocratic People's Union." They favor adjectives like "National," "Democratic" or "Social" for new party titles. Only a few—"Black Corps," "Battle Group Germania," "Black Legion"—show their true color openly. Counting the different regional groups, they run up to over 1,000.

Nazi songs, celebrating Hitler's birthday and other Third Reich anniversaries are routine with them. They say the Nazi concentration camps weren't severe enough and term Allied punishment of Nazis after the war "crimes against humanity."

THE SPECIAL ONES: Former SS and other Nazi officials, who hold down leading places in all the organizations, make up two that defend their interests more specifically: the HIAG (Organization to Aid the Waffen SS) and the Association of Internees (read: War Criminals) and Victims of Denazification. (This last group, lately outlawed, is rapidly being replaced by the new "Battle Association for Freedom and Right".)

A special role is played by the Ludendorff movement, headed by Mathilde von Ludendorff, widow of the late General who was close to Hitler. The movement bases its teachings on Frau von Ludendorff's metaphysical "God Knowledge." It fights the Jews (to whom it says, "ruse, lie and even murder are only virtues before Jehovah") along with the Free Masons and the Roman Catholic church. The movement, with an estimated membership of 100,000, is numerically one of the strongest on the extreme right. It publishes three periodicals and organizes regular summer camps (there were 17 last year) where children are taught the movement's "Wisdom of Life."

A RECENT REUNION OF WAFFEN SS MEN IN HAMELIN
Their group was formed specifically to aid former Storm Troopers

THE PRINTED WORD: The neo-Fascist organizations are busy publishers. Some 15 houses keep turning out white-washing and glorifying books about the Third Reich. Among them are a Hitler biography (prohibited in Germany), the memoirs of Alfred Rosenberg, and the letters from prison of Rudolf Hess. Most of these books are distributed outside the regular channels through neo-Nazi book clubs and "cultural" organizations, and they run to considerable editions.

A flood of Nazi periodicals—most of them not available on newsstands—are sent out directly to several hundred thousand readers. One soldiers' magazine has a circulation of 3,000,000. In a recent booklet, "Truth and Falsification," about the flood of neo-Nazi publications, a German commentator, Heinz Bruedigam, concluded that "the distortion and falsification of recent German history has official blessing."

THE BITTER FRUIT: The West today is reaping the harvest of years of certain intentions and certain neglects. The intentions have often been analyzed. Much less has been said about the neglects, which are great. No serious effort has ever been made on a nationwide basis in post-war Germany to get people to face, understand and grow beyond the sickness, the crimes and atrocities of the Third Reich.

When the facts of fascism became known to all Germans in 1945 they produced something like a psychological shock. The defensive reactions made it almost impossible to break through to the truth. "Concentration camps are an Allied lie," "Atrocities were very exceptional," "The other side was just as bad"—these were the stereotyped answers.

THE RECEDING PAST: The Allies found themselves confronted with a case of traumatism on a nationwide scale. Was any one equipped to deal with it? It is difficult today to know the answer. At any rate, de-nazification, as handled by the Allied military governments, was no remedy. It punished the little man, giving him an opportunity to resent democratic justice, and no reason to change his mind about nazism. It left many cadres—teachers, judges, high civil servants—in place. Others who were temporarily removed have long since been reinstated in important functions.

By and large, those over 40 have had little encouragement to look the past squarely in the face and say to themselves: "This is what has happened; this is why; these were the faults and the crimes; this is what I could, and should, have done about them."

It would have taken courage to confront the past; it was so much easier to shove it into a drawer and turn the key. Through the years, it has accumulated dust and a reassuring air of long-ago. It has lost its horror and its tears and blood and shame.

GOOD OLD DAYS: Today a man does not even have to read old or new Nazi literature to see the past "objectively" as an accomplishment of National Honor. A respectable big-circulation magazine recently published in several instalments the story of the Allied landing at Normandy in June, 1944, as seen from the "heroic" war - is -war-and-we-can't-be-bothered-about-the-rest viewpoint of the Nazi army on the run.

The feature, presented as a compilation of documents and eye-witness reports, carried no by-line. Its author had been swept out of the magazine's editorial offices a few months earlier when it became generally known that he had been an aide to a high-ranking Nazi minister. He returned through the back door with the anonymous feature story.

The series is scheduled to appear in book form, later this year, this time under the author's name.

For a few the long silence is ending

HAMBURG

WE WERE SIX around a table—mostly professional people, all old enough to have been adults during the Nazi time—and the conversation was about the last war. To look at it objectively, one said glibly, German occupation was not as murderous as all that. In some instances, almost friendly relations grew up between certain "decent" German officers and the occupied.

A shy man, who had hardly spoken all evening, suddenly spoke up: "We all know," he said, "we all know TODAY the horrors that have happened, in the concentration camps and out. We should at least have the decency to keep quiet about those years instead of minimizing them. That is the least we can do . . ."

"I went to Belsen last summer," a young woman said. "I was not able to sleep for days afterward. We simply must see these things, and we must talk about them if we don't want them to happen again. I am going to tell my children just as soon as they are old enough to understand."

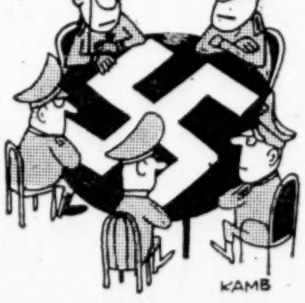
It was the first time since the war that I heard people talk quite like this. In previous visits to Germany, the recent past had been a series of polite clichés and embarrassed silences. Today the talk often comes spontaneously. In some places, at least, a 15-year-old silence made of frustration, resentment and the suffocating legacy of the Third Reich, is being broken at last.

It is as though the recent wave of anti-Semitism had somehow polarized feelings about the Hitler regime. The new Swastika painters have obliged people to take a stand and announce their allegiance.

Reactions are sometimes unexpected. Hamburg's liberal weekly, **Der Spiegel**, recently added a department headed: Anti-Semitism. Other reactions result from embarrassment, and then the results can be ludicrous. The new German army, anxious lest the odor of anti-Semitism should alienate sympathy abroad—particularly in the U.S.—recently planned a solemn ceremony in honor of the first Jew who was commissioned as an officer in its ranks. The idea was dropped.

Politics finds its way more frequently into private conversations. Criticism of the Bonn government is becoming more vocal. I was surprised at the number of people critical of Bonn's blind cold-war course, and saying so; and talking with common sense about East Germany. With political party life stifled into pale conformism, the most notable acts of dissent have been acts of personal courage and integrity. Among these acts:

- Four editors of one of the country's big circulation magazines quit their jobs because a notorious Third Reich Nazi was about to be appointed editor. All four refused re-instatement—even after his appointment was definitely called of—because he continued free-lancing for the same publication under a pen name.
- Two top editors of an important daily resigned because they were tired of the paper's Bonn-style cold war crusade. They took jobs on a more liberal paper.
- The prosecution in one German town hunted down a war criminal despite the reluctance of some members of the legal profession, and through years of unbelievable difficulties. Preparation for the trial revealed the extraordinary underground network of Nazi solidarity: The only German witness for the prosecution dropped out after a secret conversation with the defendant; the defendant's physician (an old Nazi friend) provided medical excuses whenever convenient to put off the trial and finally smuggled poison into prison.



Across the mass of indifference, of people sunk in their material and intellectual comfort, a minority is aware of its political responsibility, and is willing to go the hard way. This, too, is a factor in Germany today.

—A. B.

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Soviet concessions

(Continued from Page 1)

Mr. Khrushchev's actual intentions." This hardly seemed to point to fruitful negotiations.

In Moscow **Pravda** said the Western powers had returned to Geneva "empty-handed."

The revised Soviet proposals were detailed, precise and open to negotiations on some previously contested points. For example, while asking that the first phase of disarmament be completed within a year or 18 months, Moscow dropped its insistence on total disarmament in four years and left the time limit open.

MEET US HALF WAY: In the interest of an early disarmament agreement, the preamble said the U.S.S.R. was "once again prepared to meet the Western powers half way" by agreeing on a sequence of disarmament measures "more acceptable to the Western powers." There were the three stages to the Soviet proposals.

The first stage

- Elimination and discontinuance of the manufacture of nuclear weapons and the destruction of "all means of delivering such weapons," as well as the withdrawal of all troops from foreign territory and liquidation of foreign bases and stores, all under international control.
- Prohibition of orbiting space vehicles for military purposes, sailing warships beyond the limits of territorial waters and flying beyond the limits of national territory aircraft capable of carrying nuclear weapons.
- Rocket firing only for peaceful purposes, with prior warning and agreed measures for on-the-spot inspection.
- Banning of atomic secrets to non-nuclear nations.
- Joint study of measures to halt the production of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and the destruction of stockpiles of such weapons, to be carried out during the second stage.

The second stage

- Total ban on and destruction of nuclear, chemical, biological and other such weapons.
- Reduction of the armed forces of all states to agreed levels.
- International inspection at all weapons destruction sites and at all facilities using atomic materials or energy; permanent control groups at some facilities and international inspectors at troop mobilization centers.
- Joint study on full and complete disarmament, including measures to preserve peace under the UN Charter, and reports on results submitted to governments, the UN Security Council and General Assembly.

The third stage

- Final liquidation of all forms of armaments and disbanding of the armed forces of all states which shall retain only strictly limited contingents of police (militia) of previously agreed upon sizes and equipped with small arms for maintaining internal security.
- Contingents of militia to be available to the UN to preserve world peace but not to suppress independence struggles or social progress.
- Permission for international and open skies inspection by international organization at any point.
- Use of monetary savings from each stage of disarmament for aiding underdeveloped countries.

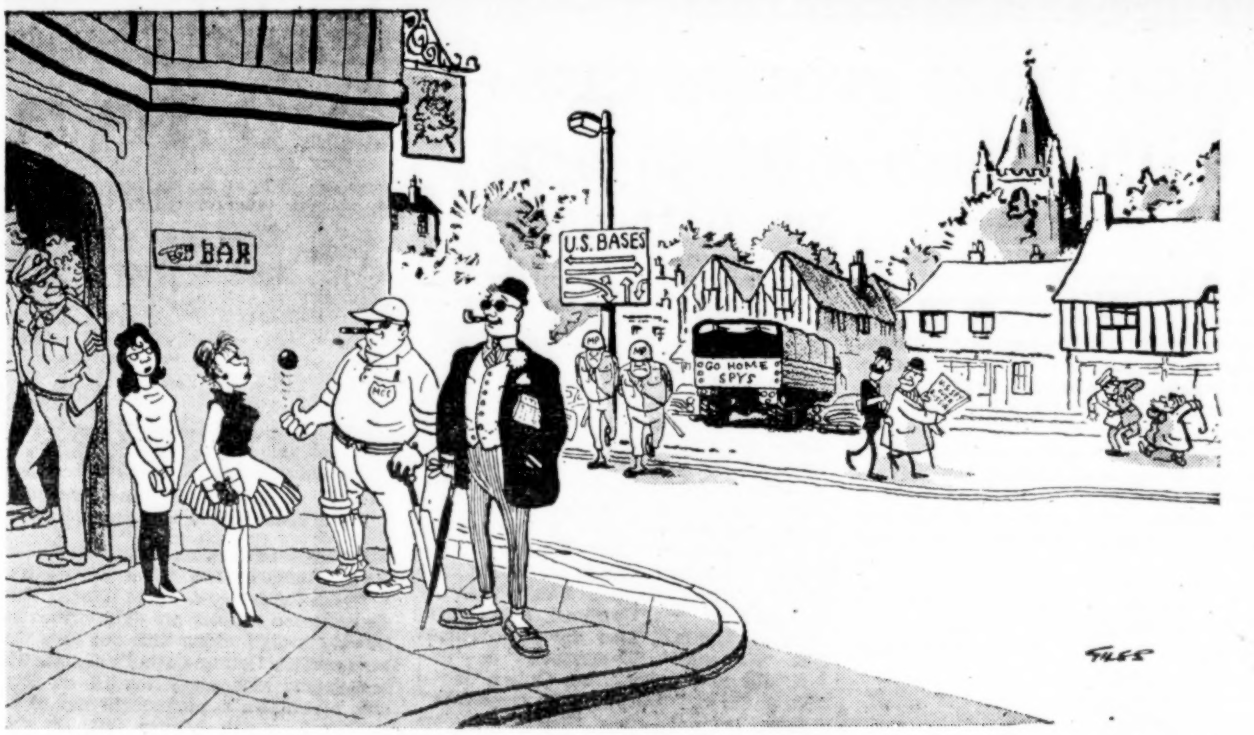
SURPRISE ATTACK: Moscow emphasized that with both military bases abroad and the means of delivering nuclear weapons eliminated, it would be impossible for any country to launch a "surprise attack." To meet the criticism that it was bypassing the UN, the Soviet Union said that as soon as agreement on disarmament was reached and an international treaty signed, a "preparatory commission" would be set up to establish "an international control organization within the framework of the UN." To facilitate this work, the Soviet delegation distributed copies of the new proposals to all UN members.

The **Times said** (June 9) there was "general reluctance to let the Russians walk away with the initiative and the headlines," but on the second day of the conference "for the first eight minutes [the Western] delegates merely sat around and read their newspapers or looked at the ceiling as Jiri Nosek of Czechoslovakia, chairman for the day, pleaded for speakers."

DON'T WANT UN IN: Frederick Kuh reported (**The Nation**, June 11) that the Pentagon with some "clandestine support" from the State Department was adamantly opposed to UN participation in the international control system. Columnist Joseph Alsop said (June 8) that "the one big, independent decision" the President had to make before vacating the White House was to allow "renewed American nuclear testing."

The most incredible Western response to the Soviet proposal was made by Britain's David Ormsby-Gore. He said that the danger of nuclear war would remain even after nuclear weapons were destroyed because "human knowledge" of how to manufacture them "cannot be destroyed" and, "in the event of war, nuclear weapons would probably reappear within a year." This "logic" led to the Western conclusion that "the new Soviet disarmament plan contains provisions basically dangerous to Western security" (**Times**, June 7).

But the fundamental Soviet challenge in the proposals remained unanswered: "The essential point is to conclude an agreement and proceed, at last, to the general and complete disarmament for which the peoples are waiting and which is called for by the UN."



Giles, London Daily Express

"We ain't spies, honey—we're wearing disguise for safety till the heat's off."

That question is out

THE OLD PASSPORT forms that asked about membership in the Communist Party have been exhausted at last and the State Department has issued new forms that do not include the question.

The Supreme Court ruled two years ago that Communist affiliation did not constitute grounds for withholding a passport.

Biggest day in the West—Guardian Picnic, June 26

"THE BIGGEST DAY in the West"—that's the way one GUARDIAN Angel describes the annual GUARDIAN summer picnic, held at the Hallinan estate at Ross, California. This year promises to be bigger than ever. Brief addresses by Harry Bridges and Sidney Roger, swimming in the heated Olympic-sized pool and a fabulous turkey dinner, with turkeys provided by readers in Sonoma County. The date is Sunday, June 26, from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. Entertainment will be by the Gate Five Trio, with singing and folk dancing.

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BOOKS

Economic race: U. S. and U.S.S.R.

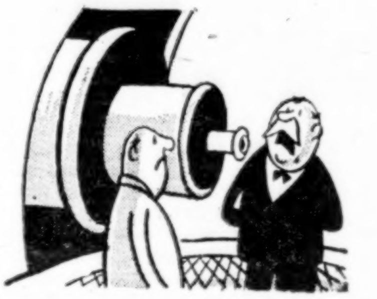
IT SEEMS SCARCELY yesterday that statements of Soviet leaders regarding their intention to overtake and surpass the most advanced capitalist countries were greeted by the governments of the West with scorn. Today, private surveys vie with Congressional reports in charting the comparative rates of growth of the American and Soviet economies and, though these studies are rarely free of bias, the doleful consensus is that the Soviet economy is growing faster than the American. How much faster is in dispute.

Victor Perlo's new book* puts us all in his debt by summarizing a cross-section of the more recent literature on the subject, pointing out errors and defects in the studies, and providing a projection of his own.

Measuring comparative rates of economic growth is by no means as simple as it might at first appear. Even with the most honest intentions there is room for divergences in estimates: What base year should one start with? Should one include or exclude the war years? What weights should be employed in combining the components of the production index? Should one emphasize over-all figures or per capita figures?

TO THE TECHNICAL difficulties involved must be added ideological bias, if not conscious attempts at falsification. Allen Dulles, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, provides a striking example of this. In a speech delivered in April, 1959, he derided Khrushchev's prediction that the Soviet Union would overtake the United States in per capita industrial production by 1970, asserting that per capita Soviet output then would be only half as great as ours.

How did he arrive at such a figure? First, he assumed that Soviet industrial output in 1958 was 40% that of the United States. (Khrushchev had assumed 55%.) In view of the fact that in a speech one year earlier Dulles had used the 40% statistic for 1956 and that in the intervening two years Soviet industrial production had grown by 21% while American output had declined by 6%, the Russian level in 1958 was 51.5% even by Dulles' admission. Second, he assumed that United States industrial production would grow by 4% a year, certainly a very optimistic assumption.



Eccles, London Daily Worker

"Moon rocket be blowed—I was just checking up if the night shift had knocked off for a smoke!"

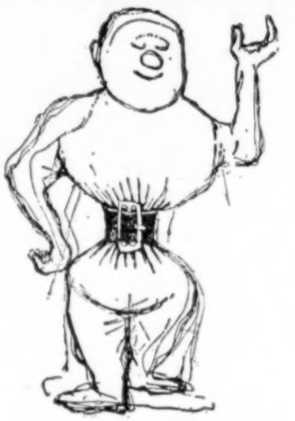
Finally, he made an arithmetical error in the application of the compound interest formula, leading Perlo to observe: "The Central Intelligence Agency is credited with overthrowing governments in Guatemala and Iran. But this attempt to overthrow the law of compound interest seems more foolish than sinister."

PROF. G. W. NUTTER, an even more ambitious expert in distorting the truth, attempted to demonstrate that Soviet economic growth did not exceed that of the United States. He sought to do this by comparing a specially constructed index of slow-growing items for the Soviet Union with a total index of industrial production for the United States. When two American economists constructed an industrial production index for the United States, using the same components that Nutter had used for his Soviet index (so that like was compared with like), they discovered—probably to Nutter's chagrin—that Soviet growth for the period 1950-57 was **five times as rapid** as that of the United States.

(In his book, **The Stages of Economic Growth**, which appeared too recently to be included in Perlo's survey, Prof. W. W. Rostow takes comfort in the fact that even if the Soviet Union does overtake the United States, American capitalism will be in no serious danger from socialist competition, provided that full employment is maintained and inflation is prevented. Since the maintenance of full employment is not likely and since, moreover, full employment under today's monopoly capitalist conditions inevitably generates inflationary pressures, one can see how forlorn is Prof. Rostow's hope.)

Having disposed of Dulles and Nutter, Perlo proceeds to make his own projection of the comparative rates of economic growth in the United States and the Soviet Union for the next two decades. On the basis of this projection he estimates that in 1967 or 1968 the Soviet Union will overtake the United States in over-all industrial production and in 1970 in per capita output. By 1980 Soviet industrial production will be two and one-half times that of the United States.

IT IS AT THIS point that Perlo appears to have somewhat overstated his case. He assumes an annual American industrial growth rate of 2.5% as contrasted with 10.3% for the Soviet Union. A U.S. figure of 3 to 3.5% would seem to be more realistic under the growing impact of Soviet competition.



Tim, L'Express, Paris

New belt tightening style

And the figure for the Soviet Union is almost certainly too high. The Russians have only set themselves a growth rate of 8.6% for the Seven-Year Plan. Perlo's 10.3% assumes the fulfillment of the Seven-Year Plan in six years—a possibility, no doubt, but no warrant for a projection. Moreover, he assumes this same very high rate of growth not only for the Seven-Year Plan period but for fifteen years beyond.

Yet even if Perlo's calculations should prove to be off, this, of course, will not seriously alter the perspectives for the economic race between the United States and the Soviet Union. The gap between their respective rates of growth is so large that, even if we assume the maximum likely American rate of growth, say 3.5%, and the minimum likely Soviet rate, say 8%, this will only push Perlo's "overtake point" back a few years. American capitalism may take some comfort in this possibility.

—Alfred Evenitsky

**U.S.A. AND U.S.S.R.: THE ECONOMIC RACE, by Victor Perlo. International Publishers, New York. 127 pp. Cloth, $2.50; paper, $1.25.*

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Elaine Farnik

Rockefeller blast

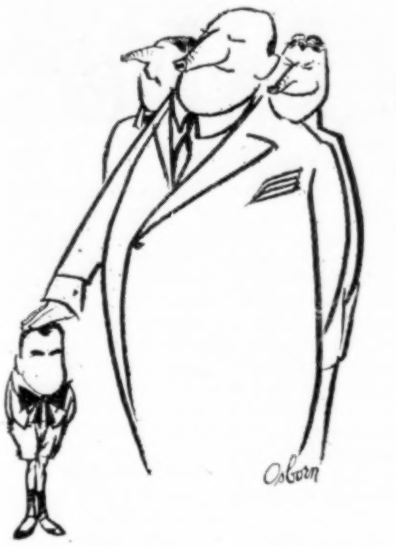
(Continued from Page 1)

- A plan for "international inspection and control of arms."
- Assure greater domestic economic growth by revising taxes to encourage business investment, eliminate "featherbedding or restrictive practices by labor or management," and a new farm program to make "low income farmers more productive members of the economy."
- Compulsory arbitration to avoid "inflationary strikes" as in steel last year.
- Federal aid for school construction and increased Federal scholarships.
- Medical care for aged through the Forand bill social security approach rather than the administration's voluntary subsidy to private insurance plan.

NIXON REPLIES: Nixon gingerly responded to this effective attack by insisting he had taken specific positions on questions raised by Rockefeller. He said the U.S. already has all "the deterrent power we need to deter aggressior" and opposed Rockefeller's proposal to add three and a half billion dollars to our defense spending. He opposed compulsory arbitration as leading to "a government-controlled economy." He took issue with Rockefeller on the Forand bill and claimed a good record on Federal aid to education. He insisted he is as "good" as Rockefeller on tax reform for economic growth, since he not only wants tax relief for business investment but would also cut taxes on high personal incomes.

Nixon's proposal to talk about all this "in depth" before TV cameras was turned down by Rockefeller until the Vice President made clear his position on specific issues and the "new program" he has promised the country.

Generally, the professional Republican politicians sided with Nixon against Rockefeller. They doubtless resented and feared this blow from the same powerful Republican big business quarter that took the Republican convention away from them in 1940 and 1952 to nominate Wendell Willkie and Eisenhower. GOP national chairman Sen. Thruston B. Morton of Kentucky defended Nixon and said Rockefeller's attack on the administration would make his nomination unlikely. Rockefeller faced some serious opposition within his own New York State Republican organization, but agreed to lead the State's large uncommitted delegation to the Chicago convention.



Osborn, New Republic

REACTIONS: In Congress the Republican right wing jumped to Nixon's defense. Senators Barry Goldwater (Ariz.), Karl E. Mundt (S.D.), and Styles Bridges (N.H.) justified the Vice President's reluctance to speak out before nomination. Sen. Jacob K. Javits (N.Y.,), a Republican liberal, praised the Rockefeller statement. Other Republican liberals, Sens. George Aiken (Vt.), Thomas Kuchel (Calif.), and John Cooper (Ky.) welcomed the prospect of open debate on crucial issues. Sen. Aiken said: "I am glad Rockefeller is getting some life into the campaign before rigor mortis sets in."

Democrats generally welcomed the Republican's family quarrel, especially Rockefeller's criticisms of the administration which might hurt the Republicans in the election. As Sen. Morton said: "The Democrats will be quoting Rockefeller until November." Wags in Washington proposed that now the Democrats should nominate their favorite Republican, Rockefeller, and the Republicans should nominate their favorite Democrat, Senator Lyndon Johnson of Texas.

Several explanations are given for this startling move by Governor Rockefeller. One is that he has hopes a draft movement based on the theory that Nixon can't win will give him the nomination. A second is that all this is a gambit by Rockefeller, based on the expectation that Nixon will lose in November, to take over leadership of the Republican Party and become its candidate in 1964. Another is simply that Rockefeller and the interests he represents want to influence the campaign and the Republican Party along the lines of his proposed policies.

The overwhelming consensus is that Nixon has the Republican nomination tied up. By the end of May, the Associated Press survey gave the Vice President more than the 666 votes required to win. While most of these vote commitments could change, Rockefeller is very late in reversing his December, 1959, announcement that he definitely was no longer a candidate—as he himself seemed to have acknowledged in another hedging statement June 12.

With only seven weeks remaining before the Republican convention opens July 25, the New York **Times** said: "It is probably too late this year for the Governor; but then the Willkie nomination was a miracle, too."

THE PRIMARIES: The June 7 primary elections produced several significant results in the Democratic Party. In the California contest to select delegates to the national convention, old-age pension leader George McClain polled more than 600,000 votes for his pro-Stevenson slate, while Governor Edmund G. Brown received more than 1,000,000 for his own "favorite son" delegation. McClain campaigned on what he called "gray haired revolt" and "kissed little old ladies rather than babies." The unexpectedly huge vote for McClain, who has been a pension leader—or "promoter," as his detractors put it—since the "Ham and Eggs" movement nearly 20 years ago, reflected voter dissatisfaction with the Governor on old-age aid and labor legislation and the execution of Caryl Chessman. It also indicated the strong Stevenson support in California.

DE SAPIO HIT: In New York City, Democratic Tammany boss Carmine G. De Sapio was hard hit when reform Democratic candidates defeated the regular candidates for Congress and State Senate in Manhattan's Twentieth District. Incumbent Congressman Ludwig Teller was beaten by William F. Ryan, part of the reform movement actively backed by reform leaders Herbert Lehman and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt. Ryan campaigned on a liberal platform including abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. His reform Democratic running mate, Manfred Ohrenstein, beat out machine-backed incumbent John H. Farrell for the State Senate. These victories led to strong demands that De Sapio quit as Democratic National Committeeman for New York; they also diminished his prestige and influence at the coming convention.

METCALF WINS: In Montana, the chairman of the liberal bloc known as the "Democratic Study Group" in the House of Representatives, Congressman Lee Metcalf, won the Democratic Party nomination for the Senate seat being vacated by James E. Murray. Metcalf is known as one of the most progressive members of Congress. His victory is significant because he was opposed by former Governor John W. Bonner, backed by Sen. Murray as his replacement, and by Leroy Anderson, the other Congressman from Montana. In November, Rep. Metcalf will be opposed by Orvin B. Fjare, a former Republican Congressman. In 1958, the then chairman of the Democratic liberal bloc in the House, Eugene McCarthy, was elected to the Senate from Minnesota.

On June 28, an election of special interest will select a replacement for the late Senator William Langer of North Dakota. Congressman Quentin Burdick, who led the Progressive Party campaign in North Dakota in 1948, is the Democratic candidate. His opponent is the Republican Governor of the state, John E. Davis.

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CIVIL LIBERTIES SETBACK

Hy Schlesinger disbarment hit in Pittsburgh

ATTORNEY HYMEN SCHLESINGER of Pittsburgh, mainstay of civil liberties and foreign-born defenses in Western Pennsylvania, has been ordered disbarred by the Common Pleas Court in Allegheny County. A subcommittee of the court's Committee on Offenses had contended that Schlesinger had violated his attorney's oath by alleged membership and activity in the Communist Party.

An indignant editorial in the Pittsburgh **Post-Gazette and Sun-Telegraph** discloses that the subcommittee's recommendation was based almost wholly on testimony of Matthew Cvetic and Joseph D. Mazzei, both discredited witnesses of the Pittsburgh Smith Act and state sedition cases of several years ago. Cvetic has since been in and out of alcoholic wards and was called by the Pittsburgh newspaper "an unstable character." Mazzei was found to be an unreliable witness by the U.S. Solicitor General in a request to the U.S. Supreme Court to return the Nelson Case (Pittsburgh Smith Act) to the lower courts for retrial. Instead the Supreme Court voided the convictions of Steve Nelson and the other defendants.

FROM A DISTANCE: The only other witnesses before the subcommittee were Mazzei's wife, Mary, and one George Dietze, who said he didn't himself participate in Communist meetings but from a distance saw Schlesinger participate.

The Pittsburgh newspaper noted that the case against Schlesinger "contained no suggestion whatever that he had ever deceived a client or a court, that he had ever misbehaved in his professional capacity or violated his oath other than by his alleged disloyalty as represented by his alleged Communist activity."

The editorial found "no showing that the action [disbarment] would promote the administration of justice," but rather that "Mr. Schlesinger's disbarment will undoubtedly deprive some unpopular defendants of the assistance of counsel, a right which the Allegheny County Bar Association and the courts have supported."

Schlesinger is appealing the action to the State Supreme Court. Support for his fight may be sent to him at 617 Allegheny Ave., Pittsburgh 33, Pa.

Stella Cooke Tobb dies

MRS. STELLA COOKE TABB, until a year ago a member of the national staff of the Reformed Church of America, died on June 12 in St. Barnabas Hospital after a three-year illness. An advocate of applied religion, she was among the first Northern supporters of the Rev. Claude Williams of Helena, Ala.

Mrs. Tabb was the wife of Herbert L. Tabb, a proofreader of the New York *Times*. They lived at 90 LaSalle St., New York City.

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CALENDAR

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Sun., June 19—2 p.m., Washington Park near 53rd & S. Park. Speakers: **Wm. T. Baird, Dr. T. R. M. Howard, Ishmael Flory, Olis Hyde & Sylvia Woods.** Ausp: Comm. to Defend Democratic Rights, Washington Pk. Forum, Afro - American Heritage Association.

PHILADELPHIA

BURNHAM MEMORIAL MEETING
In honor of Louis E. Burnham and to reaffirm belief in the causes he worked for, the Philadelphia Friends of the Guardian invite you to a **LAWN PARTY**, with entertainment and lively discussion —Sat., June 25, 8:30 p.m. at The Seidler's Lawn, 8020 Cobden Rd., Laverock (4 blocks off Cheltenham & Willow Grove Av.). Proceeds will go to a fund set up for the Burnham children. (Directions: Car — Cneltenham Av. to Willow Grove Av., R. 4 blocks, L. Cobden Rd. Bus — "S" bus Broad & Olney to Cheltenham Av. & Willow Grove Av., walk 4 blocks on Willow Grove to Cobden Rd.)

NEW YORK

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DOUBLE FEATURE: See Eisenstein's film "STRIKE"; hear tape recording of recent Un-Amer. Comm. hearings held in San Francisco which were scene of protest demonstration. Fri. & Sat., June 17, 18, 8 & 10:30 p.m.; Sat. Mat. 2 p.m.; Sun., June 19, 8 p.m. 116 University Pl., Young Socialist Alliance.

ANNUAL PILGRIMAGE TO GRAVE of **ETHEL** and **JULIUS ROSENBERG** will take place Sun., June 19, at Wellwood Cemetery, Pinelawn, N.Y. at 1:30 p.m. Cars to accomodate those going available. Call TR 8-6471 evenings.

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THE GALLERY

WHEN U-2 PILOT Francis G. Powers was brought down in the Soviet Union he carried with him a "survival kit" that was surplus from World War II. The kit was to help him in a variety of contingencies. If he landed among enemies, there was a suicide needle. But if he should land among "friendly natives," the kit provided the means to do business. It contained six bracelets, two watches and a purse of gold coins . . . Shortly after the Summit collapse, syndicated columnist Sylvia Porter wrote: "From a strictly bread-and-butter point of view one 'bright' result of the summit debacle is that you need not fear any progress on disarmament will undermine your job, shrink your pay check . . . From a stock market point of view, one 'pleasant' angle is that corporations closely connected with production for national defense need not brace themselves against developments which would close their factories, slash their earnings." . . . Two popular jokes last month were: CIA means Caught In the Act; and, there is a new U-2 airline—fly now, pay later . . . During a meeting celebrating the 50th anniversary of the Union of South Africa, Prime Minister Verwoerd held up a dove that he said he was sending "out into space as a symbol of the peace and prosperity which we wish all the peoples on earth." But the bird refused to fly and fell at Verwoerd's feet as he said: "I release our dove of peace."

TWO PSYCHOLOGISTS at the University of Chicago, Allan Rechtschaffen and Joe Kamiya, have developed a physical method for investigating dreams. By means of an electronic device which shows brain wave changes, they have investigated dreams of volunteer patients. These are some preliminary conclusions: about 95% of people have three to seven dreams a night; an average dream lasts 15 to 20 minutes; dreams are as much physical activity as mental; intelligence has nothing to do with frequency of dreams; and, some animals show indications of dreaming. Kamiya said: "We want to show that the dream is a bodily activity. There is a real physical basis to the dream that is remembered. It is not merely a thought. It has long been felt that thoughts, ideas, hopes, fears were not grounded in man's physical system. We want to get rid of this dualism in our thinking, that there is a realm of the mind and a realm of the body." . . . The final letter in a London **Times** exchange of solemn correspondence about Pavlovian techniques used by Premier Khrushchev, read: In a university laboratory two rats were discussing recent events. Said A to B, "How are you getting on?" "Fine," said B, "the Professor is getting well conditioned. Every time I ring a bell he feeds me." . . . Mobile police are baffled by a burglar who broke into a store and stole four shoes, each one a different size, color and style. . . . An ad from the Irish Industrial Development Authority in the May 2 issue of **Time** magazine urges American industry to set up plants in Ireland: "You'll find a plentiful supply of interested, intelligent labor, reasonable wage scales (usually about a third of the equivalent scale in the United States). You're guaranteed permission to withdraw profits and investments in dollars at any time." . . . AromaFama, a company that specializes in scents for advertising has in stock: new-car odor, fresh-baked scent and a masculine-leather smell. Its motto for advertisers is: "Bouquet through creative controlled chemistry."

—Robert E. Light

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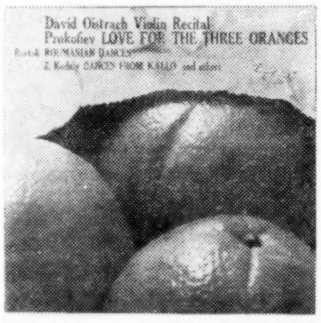
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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

Black Sea miracle

SOFIA

FOR A REFRESHING EXPERIENCE we recommend a trip to Bulgaria, a country of unusual beauty and unlimited hospitality. Its snow-capped Rila mountains are as grand as the Alps, and the Golden Sands of Varna with its modern hotels on the Black Sea compares with the Riviera. Now that diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and the United States have been resumed, Americans are making this discovery. By April of this year 5,000 of them had signed up with Balkantourist, Bulgaria's official travel agency.

We had a foretaste of Bulgarian hospitality while enroute to Sofia. The train had no diner. Experienced folk came with a bag of food. A Bulgarian doctor on the way home from a conference in Kiev learned of our plight and reacted as though he had received an emergency call from one of his patients. At the border town of Rousse, he dashed to the station restaurant and returned with a bagful of Bulgarian bread, salami and cheese. He insisted that we were his guests.

"I do hope you will like Bulgaria," he said. "But please do not judge us by American standards of material well-being. To get a true picture of present-day Bulgaria you must compare it to what it was 15 years ago, before our liberation. You will see then that in the short span of 15 years we have performed a miracle."

ON THE WAY TO VARNA we stopped at the village of Purvenets to chat with one of the directors of a wine cooperative. He insisted that we taste the product, not just talk about it. "Tasting" began with a pitcherful of Pelin, a white fruit wine which he called an aperitif. After that came a pitcherful of Malaga, a native red wine which, he claimed, made unhappy people happy and turned cowards into heroes. By the third pitcherful of Malaga, we were happy, all right. And we had a headful of information about a Bulgarian wine cooperative.

Between toasts to friendship and peace we learned that from 42 members in 1948 this cooperative had risen to a membership of 12,000, embracing seven neighboring villages; that free kindergartens were provided for mothers at work in the fields; that 60% of all the peasant dwellings were new; that illiteracy, once widespread, had practically been wiped out; that the new house of culture about to be completed will have an auditorium seating 1,200 and will also house the village library.

Everywhere we went we saw new dwellings going up, and the house of culture. Even the smallest village had a library. As one Bulgarian said: "In our villages the farmers are more likely to build a house of culture even before they build a bakery."

In the town of Peshtera we saw a hydroelectric power station built more than 600 feet underground. Over the din of roaring turbines a young engineer told us this was one of three power plants known as the Cascades, all built in seven years. "These three alone," he said, "produce as much electricity as did all the existing plants before our liberation in 1944." Over the gate leading to the power plant was this slogan: "Friendly Greetings To All The People Fighting For Peace."

ON THE WALLS of many of the new industrial establishments is the slogan: "This Plant Is The Product Of Soviet-Bulgarian Friendship." It means the plant had either been equipped with Soviet machinery, or had been built with Soviet technical assistance.

Bulgarian-Russian friendship has a long history. In 1878 Russia liberated Bulgaria from the Ottoman rule that had lasted for 500 years, and in 1944 the Soviet army helped to free Bulgaria from both native and German fascists.

In the last war 250,000 Bulgarians took to the hills as partisans. One of the Rila mountain peaks near the winter resort of Borovets is called Black Rock. It is 4,000 feet high and commands a view of the area for miles around. Bulgarians come here not only to admire the scenery but to pay tribute to the memory of partisans who, when captured by the fascists, were pushed off Black Rock with their hands tied behind their backs.

In People's Bulgaria all minority groups enjoy complete equality. The largest minority are the Moslems, who number nearly 500,000. They have schools in the Turkish language as well as newspapers and magazines, all supported by the state. Until last year Moslem women still wore the veil. Today two of them, both school teachers, are members of the Bulgarian parliament.

A Bulgarian student specializing in Oriental languages once said to us: "There is no room for racial prejudice in my country." Then he added, with a genuinely pained expression on his face, "Why should one people want to discriminate against another? I can't understand that."

Listening to these words we thought of the doctor again. This student, too, we realized, was part of the miracle of the new Bulgaria.

—Yuri Suhl

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